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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

HON. AUGUSTUS W. BRADFORD,

Governor of Maryland;

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE CHAMBER, BEFORE THE

SENATE AND HOUSE OF DELEGATES,

January 8, 1862.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Fellow-citizens

of the Senate and House of Delegates:

The present is one of those occasions, periodically occurring in our political career, that usually excites a lively interest; an interest that may be chiefly ascribed to the fact that every such spectacle seems to call to mind the value and success of republican institutions, in recognizing, as it were, the power of the people peacefully to select and inaugurate their political rulers, by the simple expression of the voice of the majority.

The emphasis with which that voice has spoken in our recent election, and the majority so unprecedented in previous political contests, indicate that some question of more than ordinary interest has stirred the popular heart.

It is a cheering reflection to every patriotic Marylander that the cause which has aroused this popular demonstration, and united the people of our State with an ardor and unanimity never before witnessed, is the cause now, as ever, uppermost in their affections: of the Federal Union and the National Constitution.

To preserve these institutions against the unhallowed efforts of those now engaged in the attempt to subvert them, is the purpose to which the people of Maryland have emphatically pledged themselves in their recent election.

Turning a deaf ear to every insidious appeal, calculated to divert them from that purpose, and to the false issues invented to embarrass them, they have made known their unwavering attachment to the cause in which they are enlisted by a vote such as no other cause ever did or can command.

So long as the federal administration shall continue to devote, as we believe it has hitherto done, the powers at its command faithfully to the accomplishment of the same national

objects, and steadfastly resisting all attempts to misapply these powers, shall continue honestly to exert them with the single and sacred purpose of sustaining the supremacy of the Constitution, so long will Maryland, impelled by every instinct of interest and affection, unite as ardently as she does to-day in upholding the Union of which she is proud to be the heart.

The sooner that those engaged in this rebellion come to understand that this is the position and unalterable determination of the people of Maryland, the better will it be for all concerned.

There is good reason to believe that much mischief has been already done, many groundless hopes injuriously excited, and the rebellion itself stimulated or encouraged by the grossest delusions existing abroad in reference to the condition of popular sentiment in Maryland. It may be useless to speculate upon the circumstances which have led to this delusion; the one perhaps which, more than any other, has contributed to it, and caused those at a distance to conceive that the public sentiment of our State sympathized with this rebellion, has grown out of the prominent position, political or personal, which those who really did so sympathize have occupied or assumed. The State Legislature, usually supposed to reflect the popular will, would have indicated that three-fourths of our people, six months ago, united in this sympathy; yet with the exception of those who represented the city of Baltimore, and who, five days after the April mob, were elected without the notice required by the Constitution, every member of that Legislature was elected, as we all know, more than a year before South Carolina passed her ordinance of Secession; and so far from that Body having ever been an index of Maryland sentiment, that sentiment, on the first opportunity, has vindicated itself, not only by the unprecedented vote it has put on record, but, by a result hardly less remarkable, that, with the single exception of one faithful Union member, it has not left in your popular branch one of those elected at the times referred to.

The people of other States have been misled as to the true position of Maryland, not merely by the declarations and proceedings of those who as delegates were naturally supposed to faithfully represent her, but the activity, the pursuits, the social prominence and business relations of those of her people who espoused the Disunion cause, added to their ceaseless and persistent efforts, have given to their action, especially with those at a distance, an apparent importance which their numbers never justified. They themselves almost seemed to fancy that, as the assumed representatives of a social class, they outweighed the old fashioned power of numbers, and

were well calculated to create false impressions of our real condition. That condition was at all times sufficiently manifest to those who would take the trouble to seek for it through those sources from which the great channel of public sentiment is always supplied—the mighty masses of our industrial population. Traced by that deep current, Maryland sentiment has never varied, and there was never a time when her people, upon the same issues recently presented would not have recorded their verdict in the same emphatic terms.

That this has been effected by any collateral circumstances, or, in the favorite phrase of Secessionists, is the result of “Maryland Subjugation,” is an insult to the intelligence and patriotism of her people which it scarcely becomes me to refute.

Any one who will recur to the history of this rebellion, the assumptions on which it is founded, and the objects it avows, and then in connection with them adverts to the character of our people, the geographical position of our State, and the effect of disunion upon her most important interests, the value and very existence of a material part of her property and her own security and peace, can come to no other conclusion than that for her people to declare unconditionally for the Union, is as much an instinct of self-preservation as of patriotic attachment to the principles of the Constitution.

It is not my purpose to detain you with a discussion of that fanciful theory invoked to the aid of those who have inaugurated the existing revolution, and which under the title of Secession claims the right of any State, at any time, and for any cause which she may declare sufficient, to cancel all her obligations to the Federal Constitution, and assume the exercise of powers which it emphatically prohibits. The notorious fact, that even among those who most openly avow their sympathy with Secession, there are but few anywhere to be found who do not indignantly repudiate its name, ought of itself to be sufficient to shew, that in Maryland, at least, no argument is necessary to overthrow this fallacy. She long since defined her position on this subject, with a clearness and a unanimity that should have assured all of what might be expected of her now. When South Carolina, thirty years ago, by her nullification ordinance, first formally put forth that pernicious dogma of State Supremacy, the Legislature of Maryland, as soon as it was brought to their attention, at their Session of 1832, adopted resolutions clearly showing that we repudiated it then, not less distinctly than we do to-day. These resolutions declare, “that the right to annul a law of the General Government, assumed by one State, is incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted

expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorised by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed—and that if any State, regardless of the Constitutional remedies which are afforded for every grievance and oppression, should attempt to withdraw from the Union, it is the right and duty of the General Government, to protect itself and the other States from the fatal consequences of any such attempt.”

And although we had just emerged from an animated Presidential contest, in which the people of Maryland were nearly equally divided, and party spirit displayed its usual influence in our legislative assemblies, no such spirit in those days was suffered to encourage a blow aimed at the integrity of the Union; and the House of Delegates passed these resolutions with but *one* dissenting vote. The manifest aversion, therefore, of Southern sympathisers to the title of Secessionists, is but a proper acknowledgment of that practical common sense which, with a few exceptions, has heretofore marked the course of our public men in their construction of the Constitution.

We have been at all times, and are still as jealously alive as any people to all the rights which, under our system of Government, justly belong to our State; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are other rights from which all the States are as positively excluded. And when the Constitution provides, as it does, that “no State shall enter into any alliance, treaty or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, enter into any agreement or compact with another State,” and “that the Constitution and Laws, made in pursuance of it shall be the supreme law of the land, and the Judges of every State be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution and Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding;” no sophistry has been ever yet invented under the guise of State sovereignty or a supreme State allegiance that could so distort these plain provisions as to make them, in our view, susceptible of two interpretations.

Starting, therefore, as Secession does, in the face of objections so unanswerable that its acknowledged allies are constrained to disavow it, it can hardly surprise us to see it seek to establish its power by a resort to means even more objectionable still.

Such has been systematically its course; its leaders, not content with involving us in the unavoidable calamities of a causeless and unnatural war, have aggravated these calamities by the manner in which they wage it. Private property

on land and sea has been seized and sacrificed under circumstances that must characterize the proceedings as mere acts of wanton spoliation. Our own State has suffered seriously by injuries thus inflicted, and our great lines of internal improvement have not only been effectually interrupted, but when that interruption was complete, and the necessities of war no longer palliated the proceeding, the work of destruction has been continued until property to the amount of many thousands has been ruthlessly sacrificed. Not only the property but the persons of our citizens have been made the subject of these unprovoked aggressions; and at the very time that hundreds of refugees, late citizens of Virginia, driven by the most remorseless persecution from their own State, for no other cause than that they loved the Union too well to abjure it, sought and found shelter within our borders, our own citizens, wholly unconnected with any military organization, charged with no offence whatever, have been seized in their quiet homes by armed bands from the other side of the Potomac, put in irons, carried out of the State and committed to a felon's prison.

I should hardly think it necessary to advert to those outrages, now of such common occurrence wherever Secession bears sway, but for the fact that the Chief Magistrate of the State, the principal theatre of these enormities, the once proud now devastated Commonwealth of Virginia, in a recent remarkable message to her Legislature, indulges in lamentations over the condition of Maryland, and ventures to promise his aid "in effecting the deliverance of her people from the tyranny that now oppresses them." Well informed as we all are of the regions wherein tyranny has been busiest with its oppressions for the last nine months, notorious as is to every one the comparative condition at this moment of the people on the opposite sides of the Potomac, the derision which the affected commiseration excites, effectually precludes a more serious notice of it. We shall doubtless have ample time to realize the value of the proposed deliverance whilst Secession is shifting its "fighting line" from the Potomac to the Susquehanna.

If there is anything connected with Secession more grossly fallacious than its claim to be considered a constitutional right, it is, especially so far as Maryland is concerned, its adaptation as a remedy for existing evils. That we have endured heavy losses of slave property, that those losses have frequently occurred, under circumstances well calculated to irritate and provoke our people, no one, we presume, will deny. But even in moments of greatest exasperation, growing out of these grievances, it never entered into the imagination of any man in Maryland that such evils could be averted by a dissolution of the Union. Of all the thirty four States, ours should be the last to

hearken to such counsels, and of all the interests which we have at stake, the one just referred to should be the first to deprecate them. I will not pause to enquire into the more extensive and universal class of calamities consequent upon a dissolution of the Union, in which this continent and the world to some extent would participate, but refer only to those more immediate household evils lying at the door of us of the Border States. As this Union now exists, Maryland is its very centre, connected by her railroads and rivers with all points of its extreme circumference; but divide it, by any line ever yet suggested, and from being the centre of a great nation, destined to become, in time, the mighty empire of the world, we are shifted to the outer verge of one of two rival and wrangling confederacies, harassed by perpetual causes of dispute, and necessarily subject by our position to bear the brunt of every collision in which they must speedily become involved.

But independently of these ordinary border feuds, the inseparable incident of all such contiguous communities, what would be our condition as a *slave* state upon the Border.

One great ultimatum which the Secessionists propose to accomplish, is a separate Slave Confederacy, embracing all the States where that institution at present exists, and embracing none others; and regarding the results of disunion in that aspect, and the new relations it would at once establish between us upon this and our neighbors upon the other side of the slave line, and who can avoid the conclusion that all the perils now supposed to threaten our slave property, and which it is proposed to avert by this division, would be multiplied a thousand fold the day that such a separation was consummated.

We are admonished by our Southern advisers that we must seek a security for this property; we are entreated by others nearer home to lay down our arms, accede to the proposals of the South, and secure the blessings of a lasting peace; and so completely can Secession delude its victims, that the means by which both these ends, we are told, can be accomplished, is a division of the Republic. Not only so, but in running the line of that division, we are sedulously to keep in view, as an imperative call, controlling course and distance, natural boundaries and all other considerations, that very subject-matter the fruitful source of our present troubles.

A subject so skilfully shaped already into engines of mischief, by meddlers on both sides the line referred to, that a common country and a Constitution for which we professed a common reverence, could not save us from the implacable war that we now witness, is to become, we are asked to believe, a subject of indifference as soon as the contending sections are

organized into separate Governments. Maryland and Pennsylvania, still as near together as ever, but allies no longer; the same sensitive subject of discord between them, without any common tie or Constitution by which that discord may be restrained or adjusted, and yet the imaginary line, which is still all that separates them, is to become, by some miraculous agency, hereafter a mighty barrier, across which the emissary of Northern fanaticism will never venture to set his foot!

Instead of these, the wildest of all fancies, being ever realized, should such a separation take place, the mind recoils from a contemplation of the feuds which would inevitably follow such a partition—feuds embittered by mutual criminations and reminiscences perpetually rankling in the mind of each; the very first subject falling a sacrifice to their influence would be the very one for whose security the separation is prescribed. And whilst those inaugurating the reckless experiment, would be comparatively exempt from its disasters, we, upon whom they will be precipitated, will furnish but another illustration of the past history of the subject—they ever the loudest in complaints of aggression, and we the only ones to suffer by its infliction.

The institution of slavery, as we must be all aware, finds no support in the sympathy of foreign nations; on the contrary, we have had repeated proofs that public opinion there is stoutly arrayed against it. Its power to withstand this opposition, as it has hitherto successfully done, has been chiefly derived from the protection it has found under the shelter of a great, united, national government. Shall we, then, be guilty of the monstrous folly of dividing this nation, and adding to the foreign element of opposition to this institution the still more dangerous and proximate one incurred by the creation of a foreign government at our very threshold, and whose people will claim to charge to its account the national calamities to which it has been made subservient.

But it is giving to this rebellion a consideration to which it has no claim, to discuss its pretensions in connection with its assumed supervision of the interests of slavery. Such considerations could have had little or no share among the motives of those who inaugurated it; these leaders were too intelligent and astute to have overlooked the consequences to which I have referred, and must have foreseen, too, that such interests above all others would be most materially affected in the course of a war, let that war be conducted as it might. But the dismemberment of this Union—the organization of a separate Southern Government—the introduction into that Government of political principles well known to be opposed to the long established sentiments and purposes of a vast majority of the nation, made up the object the conspirators had

in view. These have formed so long the subject of their ambitious meditations, that after having in form opposed, but in effect promoted the success of political agitators at the North, as reckless as themselves, they have seized upon that success, the result of their own contrivance, as the pretext for their premeditated rebellion. And thus to accomplish their selfish and ambitious schemes, has this contest been thrust upon us, and our beloved country, lately so prosperous, peaceful and happy, made the theatre of a civil war, prostrating every industrial pursuit, penetrating every domestic circle, and involving all more or less in its calamities.

The question is frequently asked, and with natural solicitude, when will these things end? how long will this war last? and how and when may we look for returning peace? To harbor a doubt of the proper answer to these questions, is to protract this war. In the very nature of things there can be but one solution of the problem. The geographical condition of our country, the character of our people, their indispensable necessities, and their not less indispensable duties, alike forbid the possibility of any other.

Their very existence depends upon their nationality; it never can therefore be surrendered. To surrender it, is to admit the failure of republican institutions—is to confess before the nations of the earth, that we are powerless for self-government, and to transmit our names to future generations, to stand forever in ignoble contrast with the glorious sires from whom we have descended. At such a suggestion, we might almost expect to see the guardian spirit of this venerable Chamber, hallowed as it is by such memories of the past, rise up to rebuke the recreant thought.

The leaders of the rebellion may assert over and over again that the South never will submit to this national rule—that it will resist to the last the proposed reunion. So far as those leaders are concerned, we may not doubt the sincerity of their protest; their offences against free institutions are too rank and too recent to allow them willingly again to submit to the will of the majority. But to say nothing of that popular voice, which they have for the present stifled, to admit for argument sake, that but one sentiment pervades the entire South, and that it clamors for a separate Government—earnest as that purpose may be, there is a still stronger force opposed to it—not merely the force of a vast numerical superiority, but a power made irresistible by the force of necessity; a controlling and decisive power, growing out of the demands which the laws of self-preservation make imperative. Nationality with us therefore is a necessity, and peace, anxiously as we may await it, can never come until that necessity is recognized, and our whole country once more united under its old

established rule. Who can doubt that such will be the ultimate result of the war, if it is confined to the faithful pursuit of that object.

It has been manifest from the first that the main reliance of the Secessionists has been far less in the justice of their cause, or in the powers at their command, than in that foreign aid which they have constantly and sedulously courted : and of all the demoralizing exhibitions which that cause has yet presented, none has been more humiliating than its avowed anxiety to place itself under the protection and support of such an alliance : to invoke to its assistance those alien antipathies ever on the alert against popular institutions, and thus to enhance the atrocity of disunion by the means employed in its accomplishment. Should the destruction of our country, under the auspices of such an alliance, be ever consummated, the tyranny with which the popular voice has been already suppressed within the Seceded States is but a type of the subjection to which it will be forever afterwards reduced.

Forewarned of such a purpose, the destiny of this nation may be safely entrusted to its people against all the odds with which Secession may seek to arm itself. If we had ever doubted the keen perception of the people in detecting all plots against their supremacy, that doubt would vanish in the face of recent demonstrations. The stern determination of the masses, everywhere so conspicuously displayed, to stand by the Government until they restore its power, is a certain guarantee of the national success. There is but one apprehension that can at present cause us to doubt it.

It is not so much the fear of any assistance that Secession is likely to receive from abroad, nor the aid and comfort which treason at home may convey to it, as the possibility of a treason far more potent for mischief, and which, if not suppressed, is calculated to inflict upon the cause of the Union the severest blow it has yet encountered. I refer, of course, to that emancipation policy, lately thrust so unexpectedly on popular attention.

The early assurance given to the country by the President, in his inaugural address, that he had "no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed," that "he had no lawful right nor inclination to do so," secured at once the confidence of the people in the purity and patriotism of his intentions. I rejoice to believe that this confidence is still unshaken, and that his whole subsequent course has justly confirmed us in the conviction that he means to conduct this war with the single purpose of preserving the nation. Congress too, by the Resolution which they adopted with such singular unanimity at the late extra session, added immensely to the strength of

the Union cause by their unqualified assurance, that the war should be confined to the legitimate purpose of maintaining the supremacy of the Constitution and preserving the Union. And when added to these official demonstrations we had the satisfaction of seeing, what seemed to be a wholesome revolution in the sentiment of that portion of the Northern people who had hitherto pursued an ultra course on the question of slavery, the Union men of the Border States were elated at the thought that Secession would thus be effectually stripped of its chief support, in representing the war as a crusade of abolition. These conservative indications were all that was required to unite every political element at the North in the cause of the Union, whilst they so strengthened and encouraged loyal men at the South that they have endured every species of outrage and oppression sooner than renounce their allegiance. Under the same influences, armies, such as the world never witnessed, have been enrolled and organised, and two hundred millions of money, in the course of a few months, advanced by the people to their Government.

Whilst these fruits of the wise and patriotic policy of the Administration have been hailed by loyal men everywhere as tokens of their speedy triumph, it may be easily imagined how well calculated to provoke their indignation is the attempt they have recently witnessed, on the part of certain politicians, to thwart this policy, by again complicating the cause of the Union with the question of slavery.

It will be impossible to convince conservative men that the proposed emancipation of the slaves in the seceded States, by force of the Federal arms, has any other aim than to make the success of these arms subservient to the purposes of abolition; and, so considered—if suffered to control to any extent the operations of the army—it will be equally impossible to avoid its blighting effects upon the hopeful prospects at present before us.

The unanimity with which the Northern people have rallied around the Constitution, ready to sustain it by any number of men and any amount of money, can no longer be counted on when they see that the cause to which these efforts have been consecrated is to be perverted to the purpose of a political faction; whilst, in the South, on the other hand, we must abandon at once the hope to which we have hitherto confidently clung, of assistance from that latent Union element, which undoubtedly there exists, and is only awaiting a Federal power to set it free. But the power that liberates it must be an unquestionable exercise of constitutional authority; and the slightest manifestation of a purpose to make that authority tributary to the cause of abolition would inevitably unite that latent element at once under the banner of Secession.

It is impossible, therefore, to believe that a policy fraught with such incalculable mischief to the cause of the Constitution can find any advocates in an Administration whose course thus far, whether as regards our domestic or foreign relations, has been distinguished by its prudence, patriotism and ability.

Nor is this movement, I believe, to be considered as expressing, to any great extent, the sentiments of the Republican party; but, to my mind, it seems rather a sort of dying struggle of a desperate minority, the last spasm of an expiring faction, premonitory of its dissolution.

Assuming, therefore, as I think we safely may, that the Government, in the conduct of this war, will adhere to the policy which has secured, to such an extent, the confidence of the country, it becomes us to consider how we can most effectually aid in the work it has in hand. The local situation of our State, encircling as it does the Federal Capital, makes it the first object of attack, and devolves on us the duty of being foremost in its defence.

One of the most urgent of the duties claiming your immediate attention will be the thorough reorganization of the whole military system of the State. The profound peace we have enjoyed for nearly half a century has not been favorable to a proper development of that important branch of the public service. The Constitution of the State has made it "the duty of the Legislature to pass laws for the effectual encouragement of volunteer corps," and there never was a time when that duty was so imperative as at present; nor can any means be suggested better calculated to meet, on our part, the exigencies of the crisis than a prompt and liberal provision for that object.

I trust that no consideration of the repose we at present enjoy, nor any apparent acquiescence of the Secessionists in the result of our recent election, will prevent you from providing, by every proper means, against any contrivance they may be expected to adopt. We have seen that in the message of the Governor of Virginia, already referred to, he declares to the Legislature that their "possession of Maryland is indispensable," and that "thousands will welcome them to the State and flock to the standard of the Southern Confederacy."

Whilst in Kentucky—that gallant State, always united to us by an apparent identity of political principles and attachments, but never so endeared to us as at present,—a few men collected in an extreme corner of the State, in defiance of a Union majority largely exceeding our own, have inaugurated, what they call, a Provisional Government, as preliminary to the solemn mockery of admitting her into the same apocryphal

Confederacy. These facts admonish us that no precautions for the future should be neglected because of any apparent security at present.

Notwithstanding the undoubted loyalty of a vast majority of our people, there is confessedly in our midst an active, intelligent and unscrupulous secession element, ready and anxious, on the first opportunity, to lend a helping hand to those now threatening us with invasion. So inveterate is this determination, so intense this hostility to the National Government, that men under its influence, whether the invasion is threatened from beyond the Potomac or from the other side the Atlantic, hardly affect to conceal the delight which the prospect affords them. With a treasonable temper of this flagrant character, therefore, in our midst, you will readily perceive the essential importance, at such a time as this, of arresting as far as possible its power for mischief. All experience has proved that forceable resistance to established authority, whether in the shape of a tumultuous mob or an organized rebellion, to be successfully resisted, must be promptly and vigorously met, and that to dally with it at all is a dangerous experiment.

Our ancestors manifested their appreciation of this principle when they passed the act of February session, 1777, entitled, "An act to punish certain crimes and misdemeanors and prevent the growth of toryism;" and whilst all its provisions may not be applicable at this day, it may at least furnish serviceable suggestions, as well as recall to our attention the manner in which the men of the Revolution dealt with such offences.

And if, in the language of that act, "dangerous consequences were apprehended from a delay of effectual measures" against the toryism or treason of that day, when such offences went skulking from one hiding place to another, how much greater the danger to be apprehended now, when they hold their head aloft and openly avow their sympathy with the public enemy.

I am pleased to see that your attention has been already directed to the necessity of providing, by all practicable means, against the treasonable practices which are known to prevail; and that there is apparently but little difference of opinion upon the propriety of such provisions, beyond such as is suggested by a desire to avoid any possible conflict with Federal authority on the same subject. The people of the State have undoubtedly looked for some additional guards to their future security at the hands of the present Legislature. At the same time I am satisfied that such is their confidence in its patriotism and intelligence, that they are prepared, without hesitation, to acquiesce in its judgment, assured that every such

safeguard will be provided, within the scope of constitutional authority. In this connection it may not be amiss to advert to some provisions of a precautionary character evidently under legislative control.

The readiness with which in these times many seem to find the means of absolving themselves from the obligation of the oath so frequently taken to support the Constitution of the United States, has already suggested to you the importance of so modifying that oath as to make it as precise and comprehensive as possible. Such an oath, thus remodelled, should not only be administered to all employed in the civil and military service of the State, and to all engaged in the administration of justice, but it is well worth your consideration whether it would not be advisable to require such an oath, or some other more appropriately adapted to the circumstances of the case, of all, who under the authority or license of the State, are engaged in commercial pursuits. That hundreds of such persons are constantly seeking opportunity to trade with the enemy, some influenced by the love of lucre, and others by sympathy for the rebellion, is a fact too notorious to be disputed. And whilst, perhaps, no oath that could be prescribed, would in all cases restrain such illicit traffic, it would seem to be but the exercise of a proper precaution always to require it.

The necessity of a liberal provision on your part, to enable our State to discharge her part of the duty of suppressing this rebellion, to pay her quota of the national tax, and to aid in organizing and equipping her volunteers, has been already so distinctly called to your attention in a recent message of my predecessor, that little remains for me to add. It is hardly necessary to say, that I cordially concur in his suggestions; clear and cogent as they are upon their face, they will, I am sure, particularly command your confidence, from the fact, that they are *his* suggestions; for, who can so well advise for our security and peace in the future, as he who has so faithfully and successfully preserved them amidst the extraordinary perils of the past.

I approach to day the duties of the office, with which I have been honored by the people of Maryland, with a profound sense of the responsibilities with which it is surrounded. They are such as might well cause one of far greater experience and ability to shrink from their encounter. My chief encouragement comes from the reliance I place on the enlarged patriotism and eminent ability of those to whom the people of the State have committed its legislative functions. Looking confidently to that support, and trusting to the protection of the great Governor of all who has hitherto so mercifully preserved us, I am ready now to take the oath which the Constitution prescribes, and under His overruling Providence, will endeavor faithfully to observe it.



